

UNITED STATES - PHILIPPINE RELATIONS

1934 - 1946

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study.--The paramount purpose of this study is to examine the Philippines' quest and struggle for independence and the role America played in the process. Another reason is to suggest why America did not want to grant the Philippines its independence. With the rise of nationalism came the feeling of a desire to be free, a desire to have their own sovereignty -- combined with suppression, economic exploitation, a denial of self-rule, the independence struggle came into existence.

In specific terms, the purposes of this study are:

- (1) to examine Spanish occupation of the Philippines as well as the social, economic and political institutions established in the Philippines before American occupation and the way in which the United States came in control of the Islands
- (2) to examine American political, social and economic domination of the Islands,
- (3) to investigate America's reaction to the independence struggle by the Filipinos,
- (4) to suggest some of the problems of the Commonwealth,
- (5) to examine two Philippine parties that

led the struggle for independence, (6) to inquire into the reasons why America granted independence to the Philippines.

Scope and Limitation.--This study will focus on the Philippines struggle for independence and the role that the United States played in liberating the Philippines. In dealing with this study many important factors must be excluded. Moreover, this study is limited by the unavailability of research material. Another limitation is the period, 1934-1946.

Methods of Research.--The methods of research utilized by the writer are four: historical, descriptive, analytical, and comparative.

Procedure of Inquiry.--Chapter I is an introduction to the study. Chapter II discusses the historical background of the Philippine Islands, the Spanish occupation, American occupation, birth of the Commonwealth, its problems, Japanese occupation, recapture of the islands by America, the Huk rebellion, and how it contributed to the crippling of the Philippines. Chapter III presents an inquiry into the nature of the struggle for independence, organizations leading the struggle, the results of their struggle, American reaction to the struggle, an analysis of the Philippine Trade and Rehabilitation Act, the granting

of independence and why America granted the Philippines its independence. Chapter IV discusses some of the post-independent problems between these two countries. The final chapter consists of the summary and conclusions of this study.

Sources of Materials and Tools of Research.--The bulk of material for this study came from the Trevor Arnett Library, supplemented by the Atlanta Public Library and the Alabama State College Library. Books, magazines, and periodicals constitute the tools used in this study.

Significance of the Study.--This study may contribute to a better understanding of how and why America became involved in the Philippines. It seeks to contribute to an understanding of American colonial policies and their effect upon a "backward" people in quest of independence. The paper will also suggest reasons that cast doubts on the wisdom of the United States becoming involved in the Philippines under the circumstances. This study will suggest that the Filipinos were justified in their rebellion against American sovereignty. The Filipinos contended that they wanted freedom from America because they feared we would and were doing the same thing as the Spanish--political and economic exploitation of the Islands. It seeks to show problems faced by Philippine politicians prior to, and after, independence and points out the domestic and

international hopes, obligations and problems that face the Philippines.

Furthermore, in this study we put forth the ideas about the prejudices and hostilities of America. The Philippine culture was dominated by Spain for more than 300 years, then suddenly dominated by another civilization that destroyed the roots of the old society and at the same time made it extremely difficult for an entry into the new.

The Philippines is important to America for three paramount reasons: economic, strategic, and political. The Islands supply America with certain raw materials and foodstuffs. Strategically, it gives America a better foothold for operations in Southeast Asia in order to try and contain communism. Politically, the Philippines is the showcase of democracy for America and it must contribute whatever is necessary to preserve it and hope that other countries in the Far East will pattern after it.



## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### Early History

The Philippines was discovered by Magellan in his search for the spice islands. Brilliant and romantic as is the story of that voyage, it brought no immediate reward to Spain.

Portugal remained in her enjoyment of the Eastern trade and nearly half a century elapsed before Spain obtained a settlement in the Islands. However, before any settlements were made, Spain became engaged in a number of long disputes with Portugal.<sup>1</sup>

After the discovery of the West Indies by Columbus, upon request of the court of Spain, Pope Alexander VI divided the new lands between Spain and Portugal. He declared that newly discovered countries to the west of a meridian 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands should be Spanish possessions.

A year later Spain agreed with Portugal to shift

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<sup>1</sup> David P. Barrows, History of the Philippines (Chicago, 1924), p. 59.



this line to the meridian 370 leagues west of Cape Verde Islands. This division, carried on the same meridian around the globe, resulted in giving India and Malaysia to Portugal and all the New World, except Brazil, to Spain.<sup>2</sup>

The 180 degrees west of the meridian finally agreed upon extended to the western part of New Guinea, and not quite to the Maluccas. Both parties were suffering from geographical ignorance and as a result both parties claimed the Spice Islands. Portugal denied to Spain all rights to the Philippines, and a conflict in the Far East began.<sup>3</sup>

#### Spanish Occupation

The Philippine Islands constitute a compact archipelago of over 7,000 islands with a total area of nearly 116,000 square miles. The two largest islands, Luzon with 40,814 and Mindanao with 36,906 square miles, account for 67 percent of the total area of the archipelago, and the eleven largest islands account for 95 percent of the total land area. Over 6,500 of the islands have areas of less

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<sup>2</sup>Barrows, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

than one square mile each.<sup>4</sup> The islands are strategically located about 200 miles south of Formosa and 700 miles east of Indochina.

In 1521, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese navigator in the service of Spain, came upon the Islands while on an expedition to circumnavigate the globe. The Islands were claimed for Spain and named in honor of Prince Philip, later Philip II. It was not until approximately half a century after Magellan's discovery of the archipelago did the Spanish make permanent settlement.<sup>5</sup> Gradually Spanish administration was extended over the archipelago, and Spanish culture spread widely among the people.

As a result of the Spanish rule, Filipinos became Christianized and the most westernized of the Asian peoples. Islam had come to Mindanao and the Sulu islands about two hundred years before the Spanish arrived, and the natives remained Moslems. Spain was able to affiliate the others with the Roman Catholic church.<sup>6</sup>

The Spanish did practically nothing to advance or

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<sup>4</sup>Amry Vondenbosch and Richard Butwell, Southeast Asia Among the World Powers (Lexington, 1957), p. 70.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>6</sup>Russell H. Fifield, The Diplomacy of Southeast Asia: 1945-1958 (New York, 1958), p. 80.

train the Filipinos in self-government, and they indirectly created the conditions which were bound to produce a nationalist movement.<sup>7</sup> Spain brought the people of the many Islands under one administration, ruling with a firm hand, and gave the upper classes a common language and the masses a common religion, thus gradually welding the different ethnic groups into a nation. Schools, housing, education, sanitation, etc., were conducted on a very small scale and were never adequate.

A revolt against Spanish rule broke out in 1896. It was put down but resumed in 1899. The United States government now found itself in the awkward position of having to put down a movement for national independence.

The era, 1837-1897, was the last half century of Spanish rule over the Philippines. This period was one of social and economic progress. During it the Spanish rulers had numerous plans for the developments and better administration of the Philippines. This period was an epoch marked by wonderful advancements despite the many hardships experienced by both sides.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>"Republic of the Philippines," Department of State Bulletin, April, 1960, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup>Barrow, op. cit., p. 223.

The opening of the port of Manila to foreign trade in 1837 was followed by a period of rising industry and prosperity. Up to this period the archipelago had not been a country for producing export, but the freeing of trade led to the raising of a great harvest for foreign export, all for the benefit of Spain, however.

By 1858, the exportation of hemp had risen to 412,000 piculs or 27,500 tons, and of this amount nearly two-thirds went to the United States.<sup>9</sup> After 1814, general permission had been given to foreigners to establish trading houses in Manila, and by 1858 there were fifteen establishments, of which seven were English and three American.<sup>10</sup>

The political system maintained during this era was one in which the Filipinos were in no way proud of. It was so weak in terms of satisfying the inhabitants that the Spanish regime was confronted with several uprisings in protest to it.<sup>11</sup>

In 1850 there were thirty-four provinces and two

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<sup>9</sup> Grayson L. Kirk, Philippine Independence (New York, 1936), p. 80.

<sup>10</sup> Barrows, op. cit., p. 234.

<sup>11</sup> George A. Malcolm, The First Malayan Republic: The Story of the Philippines (Boston, 1951), p. 30.

politico-military commandancios. In these provinces the Spanish administration was still vested solely in the mayor, who, until after 1886, was governor, executive officer and judge for trials of provincial cases and crimes.<sup>12</sup>

### American Occupation

When America arrived in the Philippines, many Filipinos were working for five and ten cents a day. The prevailing rate of wages for common labor was about twenty cents, except in the seaports and the largest population centers, where it ran somewhat higher.<sup>13</sup>

In view of these conditions, America immediately began the task of changing the economic and social conditions. Under the inspiration of education and opportunity these conditions slowly changed. Wages soon increased; in the cities laborers were shortly earning more than a dollar per day, three or four times the amount earned under Spanish domination.

America came into control of the Philippines through a war with Spain, which grew out of a situation in Cuba. Spanish rule on the Island was challenged by Cuban insurgents,

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

poorly organized, poorly disciplined.<sup>14</sup>

Spanish attempts to suppress the insurrection were inefficient, cruel, and only partly successful. The situation had long been developing.

In the month of April, 1898, war was declared between Spain and the United States. On the first day of May, an American fleet reached Manila harbor and in the naval fight off Cavite, Spanish dominion, which had lasted with only one brief interruption for 333 years, was ended.<sup>15</sup> With the passing of Spanish sovereignty to America, a new era began in the Philippines.

The fact that America obtained its independence by revolution caused Americans to give sympathy to the cause of the revolutionists. The people of Cuba, who made repeated but ineffective struggles against Spanish sovereignty, had the wishes of the American people.

When rebellion broke out afresh in Cuba in 1894, the United States government suppressed the lending of assistance to the Cubans; however, the American people themselves wished to see Cuba free.<sup>16</sup> The war in Cuba

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<sup>14</sup> W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Island (Boston, 1945), p. 60.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Barrows, op. cit., p. 264.

dragged along for many years and became more and more merciless. Spain poured troops into the Island until there were 120,000 on Cuban soil; however, the rebellion continued.<sup>17</sup>

As the contest proceeded without sign of termination, the impatience of the American people grew. Then on February 15, 1898, occurred an event which ended the hopes of peaceful settlement. The American battleship Maine, lying in the harbor of Havana, was destroyed and 226 American officers and sailors were killed. Congress demanded that Spain withdraw from the Island and recognize the independence of Cuba. Spain refused, and resolved upon resistance.<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence to tell which side bombed the ship.<sup>19</sup>

Here it is pertinent to mention why Spain refused to surrender Cuba. America was in a stage of expansionism. Congress on April 20, 1898, resolved that:

It is the duty of the United States to demand and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the

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<sup>17</sup>Catherine Porter, Crisis in the Philippines (New York, 1942), p. 67.

<sup>18</sup>Porter, op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.



government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, it directed and empowered the President "to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States-- to such extent as may be necessary to enforce that requirement."<sup>21</sup>

The Congressional resolution gave Spain a **three-day** ultimatum for compliance. America knew that Spain could not and would not accept it. The Spaniards declared the resolution equivalent to a declaration of war and broke relations the same day.<sup>22</sup>

There was nothing in the resolution to indicate that Congress had any interest in any territory other than Cuba or that the President was authorized to use the armed forces for any purposes not directly related to the Spanish withdrawal from Cuba.

In the meanwhile, the war began without the slightest reference to the Philippines. At the opening of the war, Spain and the United States had squadrons in Asiatic

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<sup>20</sup>George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy 1900-1950 (New York, 1951), p. 16.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

waters. The Spanish fleet lay at Cavite, the American ships gathered at Hongkong.

Immediately on the declaration of war, the American Naval commander, Dewey, was ordered to destroy the Spanish fleet, which was felt to be on the Pacific Coast of America. Dewey entered the Bay of Manila in darkness on the morning of May 1, and proceeded directly to the Spanish vessels at Cavite. In a few hours the Spanish fleet was utterly destroyed.<sup>23</sup>

Only a few days later President McKinley authorized preparations for the dispatch of an army of occupation. The mission of this ground force was to follow up Dewey's victory, to complete "the reduction of Spanish power in that area, and to give order and security to the Islands while in the possession of the United States."<sup>24</sup> This force arrived and destroyed Manila.

The effect of this action, however, later constituted the most important and probably decisive consideration in America's final decision to take the islands away from Spain and put them under our control. This military operation shattered Spanish rule in the islands, and made

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<sup>23</sup>Barrows, op. cit., p. 266.

<sup>24</sup>Kennan, op. cit., p. 17.

it impossible for us to leave the Islands to Spain, and it left the United States with no alternative but to take the Islands.<sup>25</sup>

When the United States completed negotiations with Spain for the Islands, on January 4, 1899, McKinley declared that American sovereignty must be recognized without condition. The Filipinos rebelled against American occupation.

In the interval between the destruction of the Spanish fleet and the capture of Manila, the Filipinos in Cavite organized a provisional government and proclaimed the independence of the Philippines. This was on January 23, 1899, and Don Emilio Aguinaldo was elected President.

He immediately announced that the Islands were a Republic and asked other foreign governments for recognition. It must be remembered that America had declared her sovereignty over the Islands on January 4, 1899. America stated that the Filipinos were rebelling against her sovereignty, and began immediately to put down the uprisings which did not end until 1901. Many Americans and Filipinos lost their lives in the uprising.<sup>26</sup>

The idea of returning the Islands to Spain was exceedingly repugnant to American sentiment. Spain's attitude

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Barrows, op. cit., p. 265.

toward revolutionist was well understood in America, and the Filipinos had acted as America's friend and ally.

On the other hand, the American government was unwilling to turn over the newly-organized republic to the Filipinos. America felt that this Filipino government was not yet representative of all the people in the Philippines. Moreover, America felt that the people themselves had not been exposed to political training and experience, at least not in the American tradition.<sup>27</sup>

The U. S., having overthrown the Spanish government of the islands, was under obligation to see that the government established in its place would represent all and do injustice to none. America decided it was best not to recognize the new government.

Now, if there was no justification for the action against the Philippines in the origin of the war with Spain, what were the motives that lay behind it? Down to this present day we do not know the full answer to this question. We know a number of things about it, however.

President McKinley asserted on November 21, 1899:

The truth is I didn't want the Philippines, and when they came to us, as a gift from the Gods, I did not know what to do with them. When the war broke out, Dewey was in

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

Hongkong and I ordered him to go to Manila and to capture and destroy the Spanish fleet, and he had to; because... if the Dons were victorious they would likely cross the Pacific to ravage our Oregon and California coasts....

When next I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps I confess that I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides--Democrats as well as Republicans--but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands, perhaps, also. I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight, and I am not ashamed to tell you...that I went down on my knees and prayed to Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way:

(1) that we could not give them back to Spain--that would be cowardly and dishonorable, (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany--our commercial rivals in the Orient--that would be bad business and discreditable, (3) that we could not leave them to themselves--they were unfit for self-government and would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain's was, and (4) there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all and educate the Filipinos, and uplift and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the best we could for them, as our fellowmen for whom Christ also died. And I went to bed, and to sleep, and slept soundly, and the next morning I sent for the Chief engineer of the War Department (our map maker), and I told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States, and there they are and there they will stay while I am President.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Garel A. Grunder and William Livezey, The Philippines and the United States (Tulsa, 1951), p. 36.



This explanation is interesting. In it one finds no premediated empire-planning, no expression for a naval base, and no allusion to hemp, sugar or mineral resources.

According to Kennan, McKinley was not originally a policy man, but he was susceptible to influence and responsible to party interests. It took five months for him to decide to take the whole Island instead of a part of the archipelago.<sup>29</sup>

In view of the pressures, pro and con, and in light of the spirit of the times, a solution for the Philippines problem was far from simple. In fact, McKinley once remarked, "if old Dewey had just sailed away when he smashed that Spanish fleet, what a lot of trouble he would have saved us."<sup>30</sup>

Many Americans were against McKinley's action.

Senator Hoar stated:

I claim that under the Declaration of Independence you can not govern a foreign territory, a foreign people, another people than your own, that you cannot subjugate them or govern them against their will, because you think you are going to give them the blessing of liberty. You have no right at the

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<sup>29</sup>Kennan, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>30</sup>Grunder and Livezey, op. cit., p. 36.

Cannon's mouth to impose on an unwilling people your declaration of independence and your constitution and your notions of freedom and notions of what is good.<sup>31</sup>

Many opinions were given. None, however, changed America's course in its early stage.

Kennan thinks that when it came to the employment of our armed forces, popular moods, political pressures, and inner governmental intrigue were decisive.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps McKinley did not want war but when the bitter realities were upon him, there is no indication that either he or his Secretary of State felt bound to oppose the resort to war if this was advantageous to them from the standpoint of domestic politics.<sup>33</sup>

Spain ceded the Islands to the United States under the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1898), which ended the Spanish-American war. America finally demanded of Spain that she accept the sum of \$20,000,000 in gold, for public works and improvements which she had made.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Kennan, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>34</sup>Grayson L. Kirk, Philippine Independence (New York, 1936), p. 79.



The United States put down the insurrection and in 1901 Aquinaldo was captured and swore allegiance to the United States. This state of hostilities is referred to as the Philippine-American war 1899-1902.<sup>35</sup>

The U. S. inflicted severe punishment on those who rebelled against her sovereignty over the islands. In November, 1900, a much more vigorous policy of war was inaugurated. General MacArthur had several thousands of Filipinos arrested and imprisoned. These measures, pursued through the winter of 1900-01, broke the fighting strength of the revolutionists.<sup>36</sup>

The interval between the occupation of Manila on August 13, 1898, and the ratification of the Peace Treaty on February 6, 1899, was one of befuddlement. At this point the ultimate disposition of the islands was uncertain.

There is no doubt that the considerable delay in negotiating and ratifying the Treaty was unfortunate. Had the United States been able to proceed on August 13, or thereabouts with some concrete plan of the islands administration, the subsequent collision with the insurgents might possibly have been avoided.

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<sup>35</sup>Kirk, op. cit., p. 79

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

To supplement the efforts of the army in winning the Filipinos to a recognition of American rule and to reorganize the political institutions of the islands, President McKinley, in April of 1900, appointed the first Philippine Commission, and its President was William H. Taft. This Commission was able to bring about an understanding with Filipino leaders and assure them of the honorable purpose of American occupation.<sup>37</sup>

This document, after defining the very large responsibilities which Taft was to assume, enumerated that the Commission was to follow a liberal policy, create a system of government in which the Filipino himself would have the largest possible share, establish a civil service upon a merit basis, and particularly to extend to the local units of government the largest possible degree of self autonomy.<sup>38</sup>

From 1903-1913, the Republican party was in power and the policy originally outlined by President McKinley continued to be the guiding principle of the U. S. in administering the government of the Islands.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Catherine Porter, Crisis in the Philippines op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Barrow, op. cit., p. 261.

In 1914, the Democratic Party came into power. The Democrats had promised in earlier elections to grant the Philippines independence. Once again in power, the Democrats were committed to granting independence. In 1916, the Democrats began the task of drawing up legislation to fulfill that promise. They enacted the "Jones Bill." The measure underwent many changes.

This amendment, as first introduced, was not approved. Later a preamble was added to the Jones Act which states the purpose of the United States being in the Philippines. The preamble also stated that America would remove its sovereignty from over the island and recognize its independence as soon as a stable government could be established therein.<sup>40</sup>

The law was finally enacted, and as accepted by both Houses of Congress and by the Philippine Commission, this law changed considerably the government of the Philippines. The Philippine Commission was abolished. As a legislative body its place was taken by a "Philippine Senate" composed of 24 members, of whom 22 were elected by senatorial districts and 2 appointed by the governor.<sup>41</sup> In essence, the Jones

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 262.

Bill, in its final form, provided the Philippines with a republican form of government as America has.

The passage of the Jones Act momentarily arrested the movement for independence in the Philippines. The promise of the preamble to recognize independence as soon as a stable government could be established is somewhat difficult to interpret because of the definition of stable government.

Williams thinks and stated that the stability of no government can be perpetually guaranteed or completely assured and that the Philippines in 1916 contained as much assurance of stability as the governments of most new states when accorded international recognition.<sup>42</sup>

Immediately upon conclusion of the Armistice, the Philippine legislature established an independence mission to proceed to the United States in 1919.<sup>43</sup> President Wilson was in Paris representing the United States at a peace conference. He sent this message:

I think I express the prevailing feeling in the United States when I say that the time has substantially come, if not quite come, when the Philippine Island can be

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<sup>42</sup>D. R. Williams, The United States and the Philippines (New York, 1925), p. 201.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

allowed to sever the mere formal political tie remaining and become an independent people.<sup>44</sup>

The mission was heard by a committee of Congress, which was adverse to immediate action. The mission returned home without obtaining a settlement of the issue.

The Democratic party was defeated in 1920, and Warren G. Harding, the Republican nominee, became President. The Philippines had received scant attention during the war, President Harding was not satisfied with conditions when he became President in regard to independence for the Philippines. Before making recommendation to Congress he ordered a fresh examination of the Islands. He, accordingly, constituted a mission composed of Leonard Wood and W. Cameron Forbes to visit the Islands.<sup>45</sup>

For four months it devoted itself to investigations. In some respects, however, conditions were far from satisfactory. The courts were behind in their trial of cases and there were numerous complaints as to the administration of justice.

It was, however, in financial affairs that the mission found most to criticize. The treasury was bankrupted. Government expenses were in excess of income and

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<sup>44</sup>Barrows, op. cit., p. 368.

<sup>45</sup>Catherine Porter, Philippines Emergency (New York, 1941), p. 47.

financial bankruptcy was imminent, unless the immediate assistance of foreign capital was obtained.

The Wood-Forbes report persuaded the President not to recommend to Congress immediate independence. President Harding induced Wood to accept the post of Governor-General of the Philippines.

Wood gave his immediate attention to correcting the deficiencies which the report of the mission disclosed and particularly to improving conditions of health and sanitation, securing more hospitals, providing better care for defectives, insane, etc. Above all, his attention was devoted to bringing government finances into order and saving the financial credit.

On July 17, 1923, the Filipino members of the Council of State resigned as a body and commenced a series of strong protests against the Philippine governor and the President of the United States. Nationalism was gaining strength rapidly. The people wanted American sovereignty removed from over their country.<sup>46</sup>

The Filipino members of the Council of State resigned because, in their view, Wood was exercising too

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<sup>46</sup>Amry Vandenbosch and Richard Butwell, Southeast Asia Among the World Powers (Lexington, 1957), p. 75.

much power, which according to the Jones Act he did not have.<sup>47</sup>

On October 11, 1923, a telegram was sent by the Secretary of War to the Governor, which stated the President's volition to be:

That Congress, after full consideration, had vested the authority of control and the supervision of all departments and bureaus in the Governor; that these officials were directly responsible to the Governor and not to the legislature... powers of the Governor have not been misused...if the legislature had enacted legislation violative of the provisions of 1916, such legislation was to that extent null and void.<sup>48</sup>

In view of the President's decision, the Filipino leaders and parties in opposition to the Governor redoubled their efforts to secure from Congress new legislation, according either complete autonomy to the Philippines or the independence of the Islands.<sup>49</sup>

The crisis which had developed under Wood ended with his death in 1927 and the appointment in 1928 of

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<sup>47</sup>See David P. Barrows, History of The Philippines (Chicago, 1924), p. 386, for a complete discussion of the powers of the Governor according to the Jones Act.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 385.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.



Henry L. Stimson who succeeded in restoring good relations with the political leaders and in reestablishing much of the authority of the office. His successors, Dwight Davis (1929-1931) and Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., (1931-1933), continued the Stimson policies.<sup>50</sup>

During these years the Filipino leaders exerted continuous pressure for independence. Mission after mission was sent to Washington requesting it. In reply to comments in the United States that the Filipinos did not want independence, the insular legislature in 1927 passed a bill over Wood's veto providing for a plebiscite which would enable the people of the Islands to demonstrate their desire for national freedom. The measure was disapproved by President Coolidge.<sup>51</sup>

The independence issue entered a new phase with the Depression. Heretofore, the Filipinos ardently pressed the issue upon a reluctant Washington, but, after 1930, the American Congress was determined to sever the colonial relationship with the Philippines on terms which the Filipinos were sure to accept.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Amry Vandenbosch and Richard Butwell, op. cit. p. 75.

<sup>51</sup>Manuel L. Quezon and Camilo Osias, Governor-General Wood and the Filipino Cause (Manila, 1928), pp. 173-174.

<sup>52</sup>Army Vandenbosch and Richard Butwell, op. cit., p. 76.

Congress, on January 17, 1933, passed the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act over President Hoover's veto. However, the law was not to become effective until accepted by the Philippine Legislature, but this body, under the influence of Senator Quezon, rejected it.

It was rejected because of the absence of economic protection. The second independence Act, the Tydings-McDuffie Act, passed by the American Congress in 1934, differed little from its predecessor. This Act was finally accepted by the Philippines after a special promise by President Roosevelt that regulations to modify the economic effects of the act would be considered before full independence materialized. However, Quezon had to accept because he could not get anything better.<sup>53</sup>

### Later History

#### Birth of the Commonwealth

On November 15, 1935, the Philippines entered a ten-year period of semi-autonomy under a Commonwealth form of government, as provided by the Tydings-McDuffie Act, to end in July, 1946. This was the year that the Philippines

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<sup>53</sup> Joseph Ralston Hayden, The Philippine: A Study in National Development (New York, 1947), p. 789.

could become an independent nation.<sup>54</sup>

Prior to this, however, the people of the Philippines ratified the new constitution in May, 1935, and elected officials of their new government in September. In November the Commonwealth government of the Philippines was inaugurated.

During the Commonwealth period of ten years, foreign relations remained under the control of the United States government. Instead of the Governor-General, a office of High Commission was established.<sup>55</sup>

Free trade between the two countries was continued for the first five years, but beginning with the sixth year the Philippine government was to pay an export tax of 5 percent "of the rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid on articles from foreign countries."<sup>56</sup>

The rate was to be increased by an additional 5 per cent each year, and with the termination of American

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<sup>54</sup>Porter, Crisis in the Philippines, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>55</sup>Franz H. Michael and George E. Taylor, The Far East in the Modern World (New York, 1956), p. 560.

<sup>56</sup>Amry Vandenbosch and Richard Butwell, op. cit., p. 77.

sovereignty the United States would levy the same import duties that it levied on goods coming from other countries.<sup>57</sup>

For the purpose of the regulation of immigration the Philippines was immediately regarded as a foreign country and was granted a quota of 50 immigrants a year.<sup>58</sup>

The Constitution which the Filipinos adopted was basically the United States' Constitution. Changes have been made only as reformers have deemed them necessary. With only a few minor changes, this is the Constitution which governs the Philippines today.

The economic foundation was sorely inadequate, and it showed up on the eve of independence.<sup>59</sup> In other words, while the United States was, on one hand, promising independence and taking steps toward the attainment of that objective by legislative enactments and by training the Filipinos in the ideals of self-government, it was, on the other hand, pursuing a trade policy which had the effect of binding the two countries economically closer.

#### Problems of the Commonwealth

In addition to the problems of housing, health,

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Hayden, op. cit., p. 659.

adequate food, education, medical facilities, etc. the Commonwealth was suffering from a poor agricultural system, national defense, and a lagging administration.

The physical transition to the Commonwealth took place with barely any difficulty. Soon afterwards, however, certain problems arose which the Commonwealth had to meet and try to solve. The economy had to be regulated to comply with the McDuffie Act, which was extremely difficult.<sup>60</sup>

President Quezon made national defense the first order of business. The first measure to be enacted by the new legislature dealt with national defense. The Defense Act provided for an annual draft of 40,000 men. They were to receive five and a half months training, after which they would go into a citizen reserve, and be recalled at the end of five years for refresher courses.

The draft functioned well, but did not reach the goal set at any point. There were several reasons for this. Physical facilities were inadequate. There were also critical shortages of trained officers and non-commissioned officers to carry the load for training the

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<sup>60</sup>Robert A. Smith, Philippine Independence, 1946-1958 (New York, 1958), p. 103.

recruits. A poor defense system opened the way for Japanese occupation.<sup>61</sup>

Next, the Commonwealth sought to make certain reforms in the administration of justice. The National Assembly provided for the reorganization of the Supreme Court and the establishment of circuit courts of appeals.

According to Quezon "there are few things that would contribute more to the stability of the Philippine government than a conviction among the masses of its citizens that they are living under just laws fairly and competently administered."<sup>62</sup>

By no means, however, were these the only problems. They are merely some of the major ones.

#### Japanese Occupation

The defense of the Philippine Commonwealth against the Japanese attack in 1941 was still an American responsibility. Japanese aggression in Manchuria in 1931-32 had caused Americans grave concern

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Hayden, op. cit., p. 239.

over the possibility of war in the Far East.

Japan continued its aggression--finally occupying Indochina in 1940. Americans and Filipinos became alarmed. MacArthur was persuaded by President Quezon to come to the Philippines and build its defense.<sup>63</sup>

President Quezon argued that so long as sovereignty over the Islands remained with the United States, and exclusive control over its foreign policy, accountability for any war in which the Philippines might become involved would rest with the United States.<sup>64</sup>

America's sovereignty over the Islands ended momentarily when the Japanese defeated Americans and Filipinos at Corregidor on May 6, 1942. President Quezon, Vice-President Osmena, and several members of the cabinet made their way by submarine to various parts of the Philippines and eventually to Washington with MacArthur, leaving behind other members of the government to deal with the invader.

The Japanese moved into Manila, declared it an open city on January 2, 1942, and immediately announced

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<sup>63</sup>Amry Vandebosch and Richard Butwell, op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.



that the United States' sovereignty over the Philippines had come to an end. Quezon immediately denounced it.<sup>65</sup>

The Japanese chose to ignore the fact that the Philippines was at war with her, Japan insisted that she had come to free fellow oriental from Western domination and could rightfully claim their cooperation.

Any Filipinos refusing to serve in the Japanese created puppet regime was treated by the Japanese as traitors and could be shot. After the Japanese executed Chief Justice Jose Santos on May 7, 1942, for refusing to serve under them, very few Filipino leaders declined to take office.<sup>66</sup>

The Japanese moved quickly to disestablish all political parties. As a replacement they set up an organization known as the Kalibapi. They forced all government officials and practically every other existing organization into the Kalibapi. The next step was to grant to the Filipinos their independence, and a republic was inaugurated on October 14, 1943, with

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<sup>65</sup>"Philippine Fight for Freedom: Quezon Denounce False Independence Declared by Japanese Invaders," Scholastic, November 15, 1943, pp. 6-8.

<sup>66</sup>George E. Taylor, The Philippines and the United States: Problems of Partnership (New York, 1964), p. 97.

Jose Laurel as President.<sup>67</sup>

When the Japanese conferred independence on the Philippines they made it a member of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, which was theoretically an association of independent states with Japan as the leader.<sup>68</sup>

The republic was recognized by the Axis powers and Japanese satellites; it even asked for American recognition.<sup>69</sup> In September 1944, the Japanese forced the Philippines to agree to the final indignity of declaring a state of war against the United States and Great Britain.

By this time it was quite clear that the masses of Filipino were completely alienated from the government and would welcome Americans back, because the puppet regime was of no value whatsoever to them.<sup>70</sup>

Some leaders, however, were pleased with Japanese occupation as expressed by Jurge B. Vargas, former secretary to President Quezon and later ambassador of the puppet government to Japan:

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<sup>67</sup>Franz H. Michael and George E. Taylor, op.cit., p. 563.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 565.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 562.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

We were in hopeless bondage...and Japan liberated us. We were deluded victims and Japan redeemed us. We were divided by political dissensions, weakened by imitations and frivolity, deluded by a sense of inferiority and Japan redeemed us.<sup>71</sup>

General Aquinaldo, an old revolutionary leader, who in all the years after his surrender had been friendly toward the United States, saw:

All troublesome doubts dispelled by the light of Japan's rising sun, by those rays we have found the central fact of our national existence, the eternal truth which eluded us, but to which our national soul was anchored from the beginning, namely, that we are Orientals and that is our God-given duty to do our part as members of that proud race.<sup>72</sup>

The Japanese made desperate efforts to organize Filipinos to cooperate with them. There was a growing guerrilla resistance in the Philippines against the Japanese. Most of the guerrillas, however, were tenant farmers, and their organization represented, therefore, not only a fight against Japan but also a defense of the farmers' economic interest, which had been further endangered by Japanese occupation.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Amry Vandebosch and Richard Butwell, op. cit. p. 84.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 563.

The largest such organization on the island of Luzon became known as the Hukbalahap, an abbreviation of a larger name meaning Anti-Japanese Resistance Society. The Huks, as they were called, received American equipment and were, like other guerrilla forces, in contact with the American army before the liberation of the Philippines.<sup>74</sup>

But their organization was controlled by leaders such as Luis Tarul, who was later revealed to be a Moscow-trained communist. The Japanese occupation thus resulted in the organizing and arming of the discontented peasant farmers as a part of the guerrilla resistance. However, the fateful consequence was that the largest such organization, the Huks, fell into the hands of communist leaders; who after the end of the war continued to exploit tenant discontent for their own aim of gaining political power.<sup>75</sup>

In the meantime, through General MacArthur's headquarters established in Brisbane, MacArthur maintained contact with guerrilla action. President Quezon while in exile in America, signed the United Nations Declaration, sat on the Pacific War Council. Unfortunately, he died

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 565.

in exile before his country was liberated from Japan. He was succeeded as President by Vice-President Osmena. On February 27, 1945, American sovereignty was restored to the Islands.<sup>76</sup>

When American sovereignty came to an end in 1946, all Japanese national, military and civilians, were repatriated, and Japanese assets taken over by the Philippines. Diplomatic relations between the Philippines and Japan were not restored until after the signing of a treaty of peace in 1952.<sup>77</sup>

On February 27, 1945, President Osmena received from MacArthur complete control of the civil government of the Philippines.<sup>78</sup>

#### The Huk Rebellion

During this period the Philippines was gravely menaced by the Huk guerrilla movement. Officially organized in central Luzon in 1942 with communist backing as the Hukbalahap or Peoples Army to Fight Japan.

After the Japanese capitulation the Huk movement

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<sup>76</sup>Howard M. Vinacke, A History of the Far East in Modern Times (New York, 1959), p. 804.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

<sup>78</sup>"Self-Rule is Restored to the Philippines," Christian Century, March 14, 1945, p. 324.

did not terminate but instead was converted to a war against landlords. Huk bands committed numerous crimes and practiced exhortation and intimidation on a frightened people. President Roxas in 1946 and President Quirino in 1948 had been unsuccessful in attempts to negotiate with the Huks, offering amnesty in exchange for the surrender of their arms.<sup>79</sup>

A cleavage between the hard core of the Huk leadership and the rank and file of the peasant membership began to appear in 1946. The rank and file wanted to become eligible for the back pay which the United States was allotting to other guerrillas.<sup>80</sup>

The hard core leadership was more skeptical and decreed open hostilities against Roxas. In their opinion, he had a dubious war record, and was a thoroughgoing tool of the capitalists.<sup>81</sup> The Huk leaders adopted a program which went far beyond the requirements of agrarian reform. They came out against the Trade Act and independence which had been obtained from the U. S.

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<sup>79</sup>Alvin H. Scaff, The Philippine Answer to Communism (Los Angeles, 1955), p. 60.

<sup>80</sup>Shirley Jenkins, American Economic Policy Toward the Philippines (Los Angeles, 1954), p. 6.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

For an agricultural program, they advocated a "70-30" division of the crops between tenant and landlord, redistribution of large estates, crop loans for small farmers, tax relief, government financed tractors and experimental stations, extension of co-operatives, aid for construction of homes and a beginning of collectivization.<sup>82</sup>

In April, 1948, when Quirino succeeded to the Presidency, he tried new tactics, truce negotiations, and amnesty. He permitted the Huk representatives to take their seats in Congress. Luis Tarul, their leader, came to Manila and promised to have his men surrender their arms. Fifty days were accorded for turning in arms, but only one hundred Huks registered and less than fifty actually gave up their guns.<sup>83</sup>

In 1949, the movement changed its name to Hukbong Mapagpalaya Ng Bayan or people's Liberation Army. Its leaders stated that their objective was to overthrow the government and establish a communist regime. The movement spread rapidly, and by 1950 the Huks boasted a force of 40,000 armed men under disciplined communist leadership.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>Scaff, op. cit., p. 79.

At this juncture President Quirino, realizing how pathetic conditions were becoming, appointed Raman Magsaysay as Secretary of Defense and made him responsible for operations against the Huks. Prior to his appointment, the constabulary was used against the Huks. Magsaysay reorganized and strengthened the army and used it to fight the Huks.<sup>85</sup>

Guerrilla tactics were developed for penetration of areas under Huk control. Rewards were offered for capture, or information leading to the capture of principal leaders. Thus, the war was carried on to the enemy.

On the other hand, amnesty and resettlement, as well as protection, were promised to those other than leaders who surrendered. These tactics, which continued to be employed, yielded results. By 1958, the only Huk leader still at large was Jesus Lava; the most of his followers had surrendered.

Magsaysay defeated the Huks by making various promises to them, with effective military and police drives against the core of communist Huk leadership. Eventually the movement disintegrated.<sup>86</sup> Today it has virtually disappeared.

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<sup>85</sup>Vinacke, op. cit., p. 813.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.



## CHAPTER III

### THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Nationalism is, among other things, the feeling of a people that they are by right a nation and ought to have their own sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> People feel oppressed if some other nation rules them. So it was with the Filipinos.

Perhaps every nation, like every individual, wants to be free, and when a country is denied the basic rights of self-rule, conflict develops.

The Philippines is a nation that has been under the control of an imperialist power. Nationalism was very strong under Spanish rule and several revolts occurred against colonial rule. However, the oppressor had the force to keep control.

National consciousness, a composite of many different attitudes and values, is one of the most essential ingredients in the making of a nation. Without it there can be no effective nationalism and without effective

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<sup>1</sup> David Cushman Coyle, The United Nations and How it Works (New York, 1962), p. 131.

there cannot be a successful Philippine Republic. It is no easy task to determine the nature of nationalism in the Philippines, for the national consciousness of the Filipino took shape under conditions without parallel in the modern world.

During the Philippine struggle for independence, many political parties were formulated and their immediate objective was independence. Some of the parties were only in existence for a very short period of time. Furthermore, the parties were dominated with internal struggle and fights; consequently they were short-lived.<sup>1</sup>

The Nacionalista party was founded in 1907, and was the paramount party leading the struggle for independence. This party was met with opposition from the many minor parties that came into existence. However, the Nacionalista party was always able to defeat its opponents and maintain a position of leadership up to this date. The reasons for this will be discussed later.

The writer has selected two parties that had a pro-

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<sup>2</sup>George E. Taylor, The Philippines and the United States Problems of Partnership (New York, 1964), p. 86.

found hand in the struggle for independence: the Nacionalista and the Sakdal parties. These are by no means the only parties that participated in the struggle. They played the protest role in the struggle for independence.

#### The Nacionalista Party

The Nacionalista party was founded in 1907. This party is still dominant. Shortly after the party was founded, it began the task of trying to pass legislation to gain independence from America. There was a great deal of internal fighting in the party. The party split into various factions and opposed the Nacionalista party. But due to the caliber of leadership of the Nacionalista party, it was able to maintain its position of leadership.

Representatives of the party made many trips to America to discuss the granting of independence. However, America was determined not to grant independence until certain conditions were satisfied. Realizing this, they did not resort to violence as the Sakdal did. The party members continued to make trips and appeals to America for independence. However, we did not grant independence until we felt that the time was ripe.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

With the creation of the Philippine Assembly in 1907 came the Nacionalista party. There were not any outstanding accomplishments by the party in regard to independence, save it merely kept the issue before Congress, and was the dominant party when the Philippines was inaugurated as a commonwealth and when it received independence.

It is relevant here to make note of why the Nacionalista party has been able to survive to this day. From 1907 on, the Nacionalista party virtually monopolized political power and the fruits thereof. There are several reasons why this party has maintained its dominance for more than a half century.

Firstly, and foremost, it seized and skillfully exploited the issue of national independence. Secondly, it contained most of the national leaders of first-rate ability. Thirdly, it entered into constructive partnership with the American government, thus being in a position to claim a share of the credit for the remarkable achievements of that period. Fourthly, it enjoyed the political advantages that are the fruits of long continued control of government, access to 90 per cent of the political funds and superior prestige.

Fifthly, because of the peculiar situation in the Philippines, opponents of the majority party lacked those issues upon which real vital opposition parties are usually built.<sup>4</sup>

Under such conditions it is not surprising that no Philippine minority party has ever turned itself into the majority. As the years passed, President Quezon and his followers developed great skill in absorbing opposition groups.

#### The Sakdal Movement

The Sakdal party lost much of its political significance after 1935 when its attempt to overthrow the commonwealth government on the eve of its inauguration failed.

When the Sakdal party was founded in 1925, its primary objective was immediate and complete independence. Consequently, it was not in favor of a Commonwealth for a ten-year span.

The attempt by the Sakdals to overthrow the Commonwealth on the eve of its inauguration and declare the Philippines' independence resulted in a bloody massacre.

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<sup>4</sup>Hayden, op. cit., p. 376.

As the Sakdals attempted to overthrow the government, they were met by opposition from the people who were in agreement for the ten-year Commonwealth period. The Sakdal was a minority party and was against great odds and suffered defeat.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the fact that the uprising was put down by soldiers, many persons lost their lives. This uprising did not change conditions for inauguration the Commonwealth.

The leader of the Sakdals, Benigno Ramos, took refuge in Japan. He was finally brought to trial with other prominent Sakdalists and jailed for participating in the uprising.

The party was composed of peasants. In addition to struggling for immediate and complete independence, the party platform included cleaning up local politics, revising taxation systems, and solving the tenancy problems.<sup>6</sup>

The party was defeated not because it was a minority party, but more importantly, because it opposed the most

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<sup>5</sup> Shirley Jenkins, The Philippines in Cody: The Development of Selfrule and Independence in Burma, Malaya and the Philippines (New York, 1948), p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

powerful party in the Philippines -- the Nacionalista party.

The revolt may possibly have been avoided had administrators tried to improve conditions of the peasants. At the time the party was defeated, it was estimated that it had more than 68,000 members.<sup>7</sup>

Fundamentally, the uprising of May 2 and 3, 1935, was due to political factors of long standing. Filipino leaders advocated immediate independence for more than thirty years. The Sakdals believed that immediate independence would be delayed and perhaps permanently lost by the establishment of the Commonwealth government, and many were in opposition to the Constitution.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, the rebellion was caused partly by the failure of the government to adequately explain the Constitution to the peasants. They were swayed, however, by their radical leaders, who told them that the Constitution would deprive them of their rights as free citizens, and that no

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<sup>7</sup> Hayden, op. cit., p. 390.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 394.

effort was being made to acquaint them with its contents.<sup>9</sup>

Many of the rank and file believed, too, that with the coming of independence they would be better off economically and socially -- that the country would be governed for their benefit instead of for the upper classes.<sup>10</sup>

After the uprising, many were asked why they joined in the uprising. On the whole, the answers followed basically the same pattern.

The chief told me to come into town and help capture the city. When we capture it we would have independence.<sup>11</sup>

. . . Under independence I believe that we would have better business and better harvest because it would be our own.<sup>12</sup>

I oppose the Constitution because we want independence. It is a good thing because living will be made easier under independence.<sup>13</sup>

The statements quoted are typical of the attitude of the countless Filipinos toward independence which, for

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



forty years, had been represented to them as 'synonymous with national honor and personal happiness.

The Sakdal movement had one overriding tone, "independence." The movement, regardless of the reasons for it, let the American people know that they had rights and were willing to die for them. The patriotism shown by these Filipinos will long be remembered by Americans.

#### American Reaction to the Independence Movement

When Spain was exercising sovereignty over Cuba, Americans, on the whole, had a great deal of admiration for the Cubans in their struggle for independence. In fact, most Americans were elated to intervene and help liberate Cuba, since we were at one time suffering from the same dilemma.

However, when America came in control of the Philippines and became the oppressor and exploiter, things changed. On the whole we were not inclined to free the Philippines until certain conditions were met.

America was in an era of the "white man's burden" and felt that it was her duty to control and prepare people of so-called backward countries in the American tradition.

When America gained control of the Philippines, the theory<sup>14</sup> was put to the test.

As the Philippines continued to develop under the auspices of America, her attitude continued to change in regard to granting independence to the Filipinos. In order to get a better understanding of America's reaction, it is necessary to begin by examining briefly the Wood-Forbes report of 1921, which was presented after the two men visited the Islands to determine whether or not it was ready for independence.

We find that the government is not reasonably free from those underlying causes which result in the destruction of government . . . the people are not organized economically nor from the standpoint of national defense to maintain an independent government . . . with all their excellent qualities, the experience of the past eight years, during which they have had practical autonomy, has not been such as to justify the people of the United States relinquishing supervision of the government of the Philippine Islands, withdrawing their army, and navy, and leaving the islands a prey to any powerful nation coveting their rich soil and potential commercial advantages. In conclusion, we are convinced that it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a

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<sup>14</sup> Taylor, op. cit., p. 140.

discreditable neglect of our national duty were we to withdraw from the islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipinos the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable government.<sup>15</sup>

This report persuaded President Harding not to recommend to Congress immediate independence. Just prior to the ending of Wilson's term in office, he had stated:

I think I express the prevailing feeling in the United States when I say the time has substantially come, if not quite come, when the Philippine Islands can be allowed to sever the mere formal political tie remaining and become independent people.<sup>16</sup>

In December, 1926, President Harding had this to say about granting independence:

The economic development of the Philippine Islands is very important. They ought not to be turned back to the people until they are both politically fitted for self-government and economically independent.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Dean C. Worcester, The Philippines: Past and Present (New York, 1930), pp. 753-754.

<sup>16</sup> David P. Barrows, History of the Philippines (Chicago, 1924), p. 279.

<sup>17</sup> W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands (Boston, 1943), p. 375

In 1924, the Republican platform was in favor of a continuation of the existing policy in the Philippine Islands. The Democratic platform contained almost the exact words of President Wilson in 1920 recommending to Congress an immediate grant of independence.

The Republican platform of 1928 did not mention independence for the Philippines, and the Democratic platform repeated its Philippine plank of 1924.<sup>18</sup>

There is one crucial element to bear in mind concerning the Republicans and Democrats. Until 1920, there was no essential difference between their planks, so far as immediate administrative action was concerned toward Philippine independence.

The matter of giving independence to the Philippines was repeatedly before Congress. It is pertinent to mention a few significant instances indicative of the attitude of Congress on the subject of Philippine independence.

In 1907, the United States Senate voted 39 to 18 against a proposed measure providing that independence should be granted to the Islands upon the establishment of

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 378.

a stable government.

Congressman William A. Jones, in 1911, became chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs. In 1912, the Committee reported favorably on his Philippine bill, providing for full and complete independence in 1921, but the bill was not voted upon by the House.<sup>19</sup>

In 1961, the Clarke amendment to the Jones Bill passed the Senate, providing for complete independence in not less than two years and not more than four years.

The amendment was defeated in the House by a vote of 213 to 165, and the bill enacted in its preamble "as soon as a stable government can be established therein, independence will be granted."

The Jones Bill of 1961 reorganized the government of the Philippine Islands on a basis of greatly extended autonomy. The Clarke amendment proposal to this bill, provided for complete independence at the end of not less than two and not more than four years from the date of the approval of the act. However, the amendment was not passed. Let us now suggest something of America's reaction to this particular amendment. The New York Evening Sun said:

The passage of an act of Congress committing the United States to the evacuation of the Philippines in two years or four at any specific time in the near future would be a criminal blunder.<sup>19</sup>

There was a strong feeling that if we did not rule the Islands, Japan would. The Boston Transcript said:

After America, Japan. That is what would inevitably be the disposition of the Philippines if the present scheme for scuttling were fulfilled.<sup>20</sup>

Lindley Garrison, Secretary of War, wrote to President Wilson:

I consider the principle embodied in the Clarke amendment of the duty of this nation and a breach of trust toward the Filipinos; so believing, I cannot accept it or acquiesce in its acceptance.<sup>21</sup>

Garrison resigned when President Wilson failed to stand with him squarely on the issue. Wilson felt that the time was due to grant independence.

The New York Times commented:

The bill should be laid aside. It is not to the interest of our wards in the Pacific, whom we have undertaken to develop in the

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<sup>19</sup> Cited in Forbes, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>20</sup> Cited in ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Cited in ibid.

arts of civilization that it should become a law . . . . The sentiment of this country is strongly opposed to it.<sup>22</sup>

True, indeed, it is most difficult, if not impossible, to get an accurate picture of America's reaction to the movement.

In view of the President's decision not to grant independence, the Filipino leaders redoubled their efforts to secure from Congress new legislation, according either complete autonomy to the Philippines or the independence of the Islands.

We must bear in mind that there was no identification of the Philippines with the Far Eastern policy of the United States prior to 1898. American interests in the Philippines was an afterthought. First came the battle of Manila, then predictions and rationalization as to the value of the Islands to America strategically and economically.<sup>23</sup>

#### Philippine Trade Act of 1946

Economic relations between the Republic of the

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<sup>22</sup> Cited in ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Catherine Porter, Crisis in the Philippines (New York, 1942), p. 8.

Philippines and the United States are regulated by the Philippine Trade Act of 1946, which went into effect on April 30 of that year.<sup>24</sup>

The Act provided for free reciprocal trade until July 3, 1954, followed by increasing duties (five per cent) until July 3, 1974, and then full rates are to become effective. However, seven of the Philippines' most important exports were subject to quotas. The Act set quota for twenty-eight years on exports to America of sugar, cordage, rice, cigars, scrap and filler tobacco, coconut oil, and pearl buttons.

The Act also contained the "parity" clause which guaranteed to nationals of the United States the right to exploit the natural resources of the Islands and to operate utilities on equal terms with Filipinos.<sup>25</sup>

The third restrictive provision tied the peso to the dollar. Without the agreement of the President of the United States, the government of the Philippines could not change

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<sup>24</sup> Amry Vandebosh and Richard Butwell, Southeast Asia Among World Powers (Lexington, 1951), p. 102.

<sup>25</sup> Taylor, op. cit., p. 125.



the value of its currency in relation to the dollar, nor suspend the convertibility of peso into dollars, nor impose restrictions on the transfer of funds from the Philippines to the United States.<sup>26</sup>

Now, the "parity clause" was a high price to pay for the hope of American investments and caused special difficulties; for it was in conflict with a provision of the Philippine Constitution which restricted the exploitation of natural resources to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations of which at least 60 per cent of the capital was owned by Filipinos.<sup>27</sup>

There was sharp criticism of the Trade Act as being "non-reciprocal" and one-sided. The Nacionalista party denounced it, declaring that it would condemn the Filipino people to slavery. In spite of opposition, President Roxas was able to get it approved by his Congress.

By vigorous campaigning, he won the popular referendum on the constitutional amendment which would give American capital equal rights with Filipino capital in developing

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<sup>26</sup> Amry Vandembosh and Richard Butwell, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

the country's resources and acquiring franchises for public utilities.<sup>28</sup>

One reason why he was able to get the referendum accepted was that there was a popular impression that further American aid for rehabilitation and reconstruction was dependent on acceptance of the "parity clause."

There was a provision in the Philippine Rehabilitation Act passed by the United States Congress in 1946 which limited payment on any war damages claim to \$500 until the trade agreement should go into effect, and the latter was made dependent on acceptance by the Philippines of the parity provision.<sup>29</sup>

The parity provision required an amendment to the Philippine Constitution. A reasonable amount of time was allowed for the Filipinos to change their constitution to conform to this provision. If it were violated, the United States could suspend the whole or any part of the agreement.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Shirley Jenkins, American Economic Policy Toward the Philippines (Los Angeles, 1954), pp. 87-88.

<sup>30</sup> Grunder and Livzey, op. cit., p. 262.

Rehabilitation Act of 1946

The United States had a moral obligation to assist in the monumental task of rehabilitation, and this obligation was acknowledged during the war in a message by President Roosevelt in August of 1943.<sup>31</sup>

Pursuant to the commitment, President Truman, on May 5, 1945, promised that the Philippines would be fully assisted by the United States in the great problem of rehabilitation and reconstruction and sent Senator Tydings as his special envoy to examine conditions in the Philippines, and to seek ways by which the United States might contribute to rehabilitation.<sup>32</sup>

The result of this mission and of the investigation sent out by the War Damage Corporation was the Philippine Rehabilitation Act, approved on April 3. The Act provides for the allocation of \$250 million in cash and an additional \$100 million worth of surplus goods to be used to meet

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<sup>31</sup> Jenkins, United States Economic Policy Towards the Philippines, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> "The President Promised U. S. Assistance in the Full Repair of Ravages Caused by War" Department of State Bulletin, August 14, 1943, p. 91.

government needs and private or organizational claims for war damages.

In addition, however, the Act provided for a training program for Filipino technicians. The funds appropriated were to be administered by the Philippine War Damage Commission, consisting of three Presidential appointees, of whom one was a Filipino.

The Commission was authorized to pass on claims for damages and to pay compensation for them, either at their cash value at the time damage occurred or at replacement cost, whichever was less. And all amounts over \$500 were to be scaled down 25%.<sup>33</sup>

There has been some criticism of this Act on the ground that it did not provide for full compensation for damages during the war, as had been promised by Roosevelt and Truman. Total destruction was estimated to be over \$1 billion.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Lawrence S. Finkelstein, American Policy in Southeast Asia (New York, 1951), p. 24.

<sup>34</sup> The estimates vary from about \$800 million to well over \$1 billion. See Jenkins, United States Economic Policy Toward the Philippines, op. cit., p. 55. Also see Bernstein, op. cit., p. 225.

While the amounts provided in the act clearly did not equal the total calculated war losses, it is probably a more serious criticism that even this did not come until late.

The paramount purpose of this Act was to fulfill American commitments, to acknowledge the fortitude and heroism displayed by most Filipinos during the war, to compensate them for losses suffered, and, in general, to create good will for the United States.<sup>35</sup>

What might have been a friendship-winning act of American generosity became partly, instead, an enticement to win acceptance of an unpalatable measure -- the sugar-coating on a bitter coating.

#### Why United States Granted Independence

In 1934, when the United States Congress promised the Filipinos their independence, it expected the Philippines would take its place in dignity and peace as a Christian, democratic, and modern state.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Finkelstein, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>36</sup> Taylor, op. cit., p. 3.

When the promise was made, no one anticipated that the first decade of independence would begin at the close of World War II. The Philippines was a devastated country when the day came for the United States to grant her independence. The country was suffering from a ruined economy, a corrupted social order, and a people torn by divided loyalties.

Least of all, could it be foreseen that the American and Filipino peoples would be forced into close alliance as partners in a system of collective security? Practically every assumption about the future development of the Philippines and its relations with the United States has been modified, and both sides have been slow to adjust, first to the full implications of Philippine independence, and then to the new development in American policy.<sup>37</sup>

The first years of independence for the Philippines were years of challenge and achievement. When the nation became independent in 1946, it had just emerged from the ordeals of World War II.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

It was faced with massive problems -- physical devastation, the accompanying breakdown of law and order, and a shortage of the material goods necessary for life.

Despite the many hardships, the Filipinos, with American aid, have rehabilitated and restored their ravaged land to a remarkable degree. While the Republic was still engaged in this effort, its very existence was threatened by the rise of a powerful communist guerilla movement. This challenge, too, was met bravely and effectively by the young Republic.<sup>38</sup>

July 4, 1946, marked the end for American sovereignty over the Philippines. However, the Philippines received its independence at a time when it was at its lowest ebb, economically, politically, and militarily. Nevertheless, with American assistance and cooperation, the Islands have prospered well.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 had resulted partly from strong pressures of American-producing classes to eliminate Philippine competition and these groups exerted a marked influence on the terms of the Act.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Finkelstein, op. cit., p. 26.

As long as the Philippines remained a Commonwealth, free entry would have to be granted Philippine goods. Sugar cane and sugar beet growers and dairy farmers supported the act and had a great deal of influence on it, because of the large imports of sugar and coconut oil coming from the Islands. Labor exerted strong influence because of the free flow of workers coming in.<sup>40</sup> Pressure was being applied from the Philippine leaders. Another reason for granting independence was the Depression in America.

The crucial element that determined whether or not the Philippines received independence or remained as a Commonwealth is stated in the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Section Two of the Tydings-McDuffie Act states that the Philippines must adopt a constitution.

. . . constitution drafted shall be republican in form, shall contain a bill of rights.<sup>41</sup>

Section Four states: if a majority of the votes cast are against the constitution, the existing government of the Philippine Islands shall continue without regard to the provision of this act.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Robert A. Smith, Philippine Freedom, 1946-1958 (New York, 1958), p. 300.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 302.



No provision was made in the act for improving economic conditions. There were provisions for regulating existing trade between the two countries. It must be remembered that economic conditions showed up on the eve of independence.

In a sense, the Philippines was granted independence because it had adopted and ratified a political system predicated upon the American political system. Furthermore, the Filipinos did not have much of a choice; it was that or remain a Commonwealth.

## CHAPTER IV

### POST-INDEPENDENT PROBLEMS: ECONOMIC AND SECURITY

#### The Bell Mission

Politically, the Philippines were free, but economically, in great need of the United States. In fact, the most serious shortcomings of the American record became apparent within a few years of independence when the Bell Mission made a systematic review of the situation in the Philippines and prepared a detailed report on what had to be done by the Philippines and the United States if the Republic were to survive the crisis of the 1950's.<sup>1</sup>

The discussions and recommendations of the Bell Mission extended to the social and institutional changes that were necessary for economic growth. Many of the changes, especially those relating to land tenure and productivity, could have been brought about during the years of American occupation. It also became clear that the United States had

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<sup>1</sup> "What Ails the Philippines: Summary of report by Bell Mission," Scholastic, November 15, 1950, pp. 6-8.

to devise new approaches and use new techniques to help bring this about. The approach of the Tydings-McDuffie era, which so strongly influenced the Trade and Rehabilitation Acts, was clearly out of date before World War II was over.<sup>2</sup>

It was clear that when the United States Congress was fulfilling the promise of independence in 1946, it was not laying the foundation for the development of a strong and independent Philippine. The Filipinos got off to a very bad start on the road to independence.

The first important revival of American interest in the Philippines affairs came in 1950 when President Elpidio Quirino asked the United States to send an economic survey mission to the Philippines to give advice concerning the establishment of a sound and well-balanced economy.<sup>3</sup>

The new Republic was in trouble. Agricultural production had reached pre-war levels in 1949; however, the economy as a whole was not healthy. Wages were not up to pre-war levels -- prices were rising and the unemployment

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<sup>2</sup> George Taylor, The Philippines and the United States: Problems of Partnership (New York, 1964), p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 135.

rate high. Government deficits were piling up, and there were inflationary pressures. Due to a lack of funds, the government discontinued public works and fell into arrears in paying its civil servants. To make things worse, the cost of supporting the army in its fight against the Huks was destroying more and more of the national budget.<sup>4</sup>

The crisis in government finances, combined with the rising threat from the Huks, called for immediate financial assistance. The United States decided to give financial help.

The Bell report was the first one by the United States to bring about changes in the political and economic policies of the new independent Philippines. It marked the beginning of a new era in the United States - Philippines relations.<sup>2</sup>

The paramount economic problems of the Philippines, according to the Bell report, were inefficient production and very low personal incomes. Standards of living for

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<sup>4</sup> Michael and Taylor, op.cit., p. 561.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 563.

most people were found below par. The Bell report then attempted to find out why these conditions existed.<sup>6</sup>

In the first place;

Little or nothing had been done to increase productive efficiency and diversify the economy. That the area formerly under cultivation had been restored, but the population had increased twenty-five per cent during the previous ten year. Almost nothing had been done to open new lands for the increased population, to improve methods of cultivation. Furthermore, the country relies too heavily on the export of a few basic agricultural crops - coconut, sugar and hemp - which provided a meager livelihood to most of the people engaged in their production. Few enterprises had been started, there had been little progress in opening new work opportunities and strengthening the economy. Moreover, a permanent solution would be found only through a determined effort on the part of the people and the government of the Philippines, with the aid and encouragement of the United States, to increase production and improve productive efficiency to raise the level of wages and farm incomes, and to open new opportunities for work and for acquiring land.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "Bristling Report: Bell Report," Time, November 6, 1950, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Taylor, op. cit., p. 136.

In essence, the report indicated that the Filipino elite must develop a sense of responsibility for improving the economic conditions of the mass of the people. The basic recommendation was to increase the productivity of agriculture in order to support the development of industry. The mission suggested financial reforms, such as revision of the tax structure, more efficient tax collection, and improved credit and investment.

The report further called for social reforms to bring about a rapid change in the condition of the peasants and workers. In particular, it stressed the need for legislation to improve health, education, and housing, to establish minimum wages in agriculture, industry, and to give workers the right to organize free trade unions.<sup>8</sup>

Now, the Bell Mission recommended that the United States make loans and grants of \$250 million, provided the Philippine government took steps to carry out recommendations

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<sup>8</sup> "Philippine Facts of Life: Bell Report," New Republic, November 13, 1950, pp. 8-9.

of its report. This meant the enactment of tax legislation and other reforms, such as a minimum wage law.<sup>9</sup>

The United States was reluctant to make loans and grants because it was felt that corruption existed in the government and the funds would not be put to good use. However, America agreed only if she were allowed to have a hand in the supervision.<sup>10</sup>

Quirino called a special session of Congress to make provision for following through on the suggestions of the Bell Report. It was very difficult to get passage of the specific measures called for in the report.

Bills increasing individual and corporate income taxes and establishing sales, privilege, luxury, and excise taxes were eventually passed. There was a great deal of opposition to new taxes on the ground that the United States would have to assist the Philippines in any case as could not allow the show case of democracy to go bankrupt, and the

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Lawrence Finkelstein, American Diplomacy in Southeast Asia (New York, 1951), p. 39.

United States strategic interest were becoming more and more apparent as the international situation grew worse.<sup>11</sup>

There was reluctance of the Philippine government to put pressure on the Congress to raise taxes in order to get the financial aid promised in the Bell Report. In the political struggle to secure passage of the tax measures and the minimum wage law, both prerequisites for United States assistance, other factors became involved in the issue.

The tax laws became involved in a fight over a bill to abolish bloc voting, the system by which one could vote for the candidate for all offices merely by writing down the name of the party.<sup>12</sup> The advantage to the dominant party was obvious.

The Senate, however, refused to vote on any House-approved bills until the House passed the bill against bloc voting so that President had to accept its abolition in order to get the tax law passed.

The act that was finally passed met the specification of the Bell Report, but it would not have done so without American pressure. Although the Philippine govern-

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Taylor, op. cit., p. 144.



ment did not meet all the conditions laid down in the report, it met enough of them for the United States to proceed with economic and technical assistance.<sup>13</sup>

The Bell Report was an example of a thoughtful, carefully prepared statement for a policy based on a well-documented survey of the situation and an integrated view of the Philippine society. The goals were socio-economic in the broadest sense of the term; in fact, they were revolutionary in the Philippine context.

This was a direct effort to reform a conflict-torn society in order to create a sound basis for political democracy, and it involved the use of economic leverage to bring about legislation that otherwise would never have been passed.<sup>14</sup>

Viewed from the perspective of American policy, the Bell Mission was a last-minute effort to correct the results of fifty years of neglect in the Philippines. The United States made no serious or effective effort to build a sound base for political democracy in its half century of

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 146

rule.<sup>15</sup>

In addition, the Bell Report, by indicating a willingness on the part of the United States government to meet some of the Filipino objections to the Trade Act of 1946 and other matters, made it clear that the United States' policy was adjusting more than ever before to the fact of Philippine independence.

Military Aid to the Philippines

No country can be independent if its military force is unable to protect it from aggression and internal subversion. The army was too weak to combat with any degree of effectiveness the Huk forces without the use of American troops.

Before independence was to be granted, Romulo realized how acute the Philippines' military situation was. He appealed for immediate military assistance to enable the Philippines to have something of a force when independence came.

In 1946, Congress passed the Military Assistance Act. It meant that the close association of the Americans and the

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

Filipino military would continue.<sup>15</sup> The significance of this relation between the two countries is often underestimated. Yet, in the long run, the military assistance may be more important than the political and economic because it is associated with pride and national prestige.

The United States agreed to provide a joint military advisory group and military assistance in the training of troops and the loan of weapons and equipment. However, this equipment could be turned over to the Philippine government by sale, loan, or gift, and a sum of \$19,750,000 was allocated for these purposes.<sup>16</sup>

The Philippines agreed to purchase the bulk of its military equipment in the United States, and to secure United States approval of purchases that were made elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, this gave the United States considerable influence over the size and character of the Philippine

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<sup>15</sup> Robert A. Smith, Philippine Freedom, 1946-1958 (New York, 1958), p. 130.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 129.

<sup>17</sup> Taylor, op. cit., p. 130.

military forces.

Mutual Defense Between the Two Countries:  
The Base Issue

In August of 1951, one year after the Korean war began, the United States and the Philippines signed a treaty of mutual defense. The treaty recognized that an armed attack in the Pacific area on either party would be dangerous to both and declared that it would act to meet the danger in accordance with its constitutional process.<sup>18</sup>

A further problem in post-independent adjustment of relations with the United States required a solution. This was the question of the United States military establishment to be maintained in the Philippines.

The issues of the status of America's bases had its beginning in the first independence act (the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act of 1933) which authorized the United States to keep as many bases in the Philippines as it wished.

President Quezon held this provision to be the most objectionable part of the law at the time when he engineered its rejection by the Philippine legislature.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 201

The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, the substitute law that was subsequently agreed upon, provided for the surrender by the United States of all rights over military and other reservations of the government of the United States in the Philippines (except such naval reservations and fueling stations as reserved under Section 5). The final disposition of these naval bases was to be negotiated between the two countries within two years after the proclamation of independence.<sup>19</sup>

In view of the fact that the Philippines was attacked by Japan in 1941, the American Congress, in 1944, approved a resolution reversing the policy on bases embodied in the Tydings-McDuffie Act. President Quezon accepted this resolution. It was speculated that he changed his mind about the bases because the Islands had been attacked in World War II.<sup>20</sup>

On the basis of this resolution, the two countries negotiated for the lease of bases in the Philippines.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

The result was the assignment to the United States twenty-three bases for a 99-year period. This agreement went into effect March, 1947.<sup>21</sup>

#### SEATO

A further tie between the Philippines and the United States was established in 1954, with the signing of the Manila Pact, which created the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

In the Manila pact, the members agreed to cooperate in order to improve their security against internal subversion and to promote the economic progress and social well-being of their people.

The treaty makes provisions for consultations among the signatories in the event of a threat to any member states.<sup>22</sup>

At the same time that the members signed the Manila Pact, they also endorsed a declaration of principles known

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>22</sup> Franz H. Miachael and George E. Taylor, The Far East in the Modern World (New York, 1956), p. 97.

as the Pacific Charter. This document dedicates the signatories to uphold the principles of self-determination, self-government, and independence for all countries.<sup>23</sup>

Through bilateral and other economic arrangements, SEATO members have assisted one another in promoting economic development throughout the area.

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<sup>23</sup>Amry Vandenbosch and Richard Butwell, Southeast Asia Among World Powers (Lexington, 1957), p. 198.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Spanish era of occupation of the Philippines was one of failure and accomplishments. Despite the fact that Spain did not prepare the Filipinos for self-autonomy, she did introduce them to Roman civil law, Catholic religion, and culture.

During the three centuries of Spanish rule over the Islands, the colony was developed almost solely with a view to enrich the mother country and her colonial agents in the Philippines, and to perpetuate the Catholic faith. In spite of numerous decrees with regard to public instruction, it was not until the latter years of the Spanish regime that popular education was introduced on a very small scale.

In 1898, America came on the scene and dominated the Philippines. America immediately began the task of trying to develop the Philippines.

Through American assistance, education, health, civil government and economics were improved -- all of which were aimed at preparing the country for a democratic system and self-rule.



Before the United States granted independence to the Philippines, it was a Commonwealth for ten years in order to improve further the conditions of the country before independence was granted in 1946.

The United States helped the country in various ways. The two most important methods were the Philippines' Trade and Rehabilitation Acts.

Aiding in the fight for independence were two organizations or parties -- Nacionalista and the Sakdal. However, the latter is non-existent today. These organizations had a powerful influence on America in granting independence to the Philippines.

Since World War II, the United States government has, on several occasions, found it necessary to intervene in Philippine affairs in a manner that was not acceptable to European allies, and it may no longer be possible to do again in the Philippines.

Political stability is desirable and attainable if it is understood as the cultivation of attitudes and institutions that further the growth of the Philippines toward national independence and constructive partnership in the free world.

It hardly needs to be stated that the major responsibility for giving content to the political independence must be with the Filipinos themselves. The instituting of sound fiscal practice, the introduction of agrarian reforms, the diversification of production in all fields, these are all Philippine problems for Filipinos to solve. Furthermore, it is essential to the well-being of both these countries that they remain friendly toward each other and continue to work in harmony in order that communism may be contained in certain areas of Southeast Asia.

The way has not been easy in the past, nor is it likely to be easier in the future. There is no royal road to freedom. Progress will continue between these two countries as long as there is willingness on the part of both Americans and Filipinos.

The paramount problems for the future are economic and military. The bases are to be terminated after the 99-year lease is up. Economics will present another acute problem; at the end of 1973, new economic policies must be formulated between these two countries.

It is generally understood that United States

policies in Southeast Asia today depend paramountly on a political and military partnership with the Republic of the Philippines -- a partnership that began on July 4, 1946, the day America restored to the Philippines the independence that it had wrested from Spain in 1898.

The major concern of United States policy is now to maintain and develop this peculiarly intimate, complex, and dynamic relationship to its maximum. Without the military and political partnership between these two countries, the United States' position in Southeast Asia would be extremely difficult. Properly handled, it can become a creative instrument of fruitful benefit to both countries and of enormous influence in Asia.

The success of the partnership can no longer be taken for granted. In view of the likelihood that the efforts of the communist bloc to take over Southeast Asia will mount in intensity, the task will not be easy. "It is important, therefore, that the United States' policy be directed to the task of political and economic development." <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> George E. Taylor, The Philippines and the United States: Problems of Partnership (New York, 1964), p. 5.

Filipinos today continue to face a number of serious problems similar to those confronting many developing countries. The nation is unable to provide sufficient facilities for education, adequate housing, and medical care for its citizens.

Backward methods of farming, insufficient rural credit facilities, inadequate irrigation system, and an outmoded system of land tenancy have kept a large part of the rural population in poverty. Underemployment is widespread. The government has not yet addressed itself to the task of implementing a coherent industrialization program.

Despite these problems, Filipinos can look to the future with hope and confidence. Though there have been serious setbacks from time to time, the Philippine economy is in general characterized by growth and development. The nation has received and continues to receive substantial contributions toward its economic development from the United States.

No fair-minded person can study the course of events in the Philippine Islands without realizing that, in the main, the United States has notably improved conditions of the

Filipinos and prepared them for nationality. What future developments may come into existence cannot be predicted.

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